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AN APPEAL FOR THE UNION!

LETTERS

OF THE

HON. THOMAS G. PRATT,

AND

HON. JAMES ALFRED PEARCE,

UNITED STATES SENATORS,

TO

THEIR CONSTITUENTS, THE PEOPLE OF MARYLAND;

AND

A SPEECH OF

JAMES B. CLAY, ESQ.,

SON OF HENRY CLAY,

ON

THE DUTY OF THE OLD-LINE WHIGS

IN THE

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

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THE TRIUMPH OF SECTIONALISM THE DEATH-KNELL OF THE UNION.

LETTER OF HON. THOMAS G. PRATT TO THE WHIGS OF MARYLAND.

In response to the communications received from many of my brother whigs, I deem it my privilege, in this manner, to counsel with all in relation to the course which patriotism and duty would seem to indicate as proper in the present political crisis.

No lover of his country whose judgment is unbiased by party zeal and uncontrolled by northern or southern fanaticism can fail to see and deprecate the pending danger to the Union.

The first duty of every man who loves his country and her institutions is to provide for their safety. The life of the nation is in danger. It must be saved; then, and not till then, will it be permissible to us to discuss our differences of opinion upon minor subjects.

I say that the life of the Union is in danger, because, for the first time in our history, a party has been formed composed exclusively of citizens of one section of the country, bound together by the single bond of an alliance for offensive warfare against the other section. That the success of such a party would imperil the Union has been recently demonstrated by an address of Mr. Fillmore, and will, it is submitted, be apparent to all who will bestow a moment's consideration upon the existing posture of political affairs.

[Mr. Pratt then considers the value of the institution of domestic servitude, and the guarantees of the constitution in relation to it, and proceeds:] Whilst the abolitionists on the one hand openly avow their opposition to the constitution and their desire to destroy a government which imposes obligations repudiated by them, on the other hand many southern men, goaded by the incessant attacks of their northern fellow-citizens upon their feelings, their property, and their constitutional rights, express the belief that the interests of the South would be more effectually protected by a separation of the slave from the non-slaveholding States, and therefore rather promote than interpose to prevent a result so calamitous. We have hitherto disregarded the danger which such a state of feeling and such a course of action would indicate as most imminent, because we have assumed that such sentiments and action could only be attributed to a small minority of our northern brethren. But now, when this sectional exasperation has been made available for the inauguration of a party calling itself republican, under whose banner, for the first time in the history of the country, this sectional opposition to southern rights and interests have *united* in nominating, with alleged probabilities of success, a purely sectional ticket for the presidency and vice presidency of the United States, we can no longer shut our eyes to the reality of the threatened danger; we cannot but feel that the success of such a party would be the death-knell of the Union. The un-patriotic purposes of this sectional party are but too manifest. Many of its supporters avow their object and purpose to be disunion, and have even gone so far in the madness of their fanaticism as to desecrate the flag of our country by obliterating from its constellation the fifteen stars which represent the slaveholding States, and displaying *as their party banner* that flag with but sixteen of its stars remaining, to represent the sixteen non-slaveholding States. It is manifest that those who disavow the object are not ignorant of the inevitable result.

The Whigs of Maryland, whom I have the honor to address, need no proof to convince *them* that calamitous consequences would flow from the success of this sectional party. They each and all *know* that the election of Mr. Fremont, and the administration of the government by him upon the principles of *his* party, would necessarily occasion a dissolution of the federal Union, to which *they* have been taught to look as the source of national strength and of individual prosperity and happiness.

I have known the Whigs of my State too long, I estimate their patriotism too highly, I have associated with them too intimately, to suppose it necessary for a moment to offer an argument to *them* in behalf of their country. They appreciate as fully as I could depict, the horrors of disunion; they will see the loss of national strength, the internal disensions, the fatal check to civilization and freedom, the contempt of the world, which would be the consequences of such a calamity. The Whigs of Maryland, who have followed the lead of such patriots as Clay and Webster, "will never keep step to any other music than that of the Union."

It therefore only remains to inquire what course shall be taken to rebuke sectional fanaticism, and preserve our country from the dangers of its success.

You are aware that this Republican party, which we all agree must be put down at all hazards, is opposed by two other party organizations—the American, headed by Messrs. Fillmore and Donelson, and the Democratic, led on by Messrs. Buchanan and Breckinridge. You will recollect that Mr. Fillmore, prior to his recent visit to Europe, abandoned the Whig party, and became a member of the former of these organizations, which boasted that it had risen upon the downfall of the Whig party, and which proclaimed that the corruptions of the Whig and Democratic parties constituted the necessity of its existence. You know that he and Andrew Jackson Donelson have been nominated by this party (not by the Whig party) for the presidency and vice presidency; and you will admit that the principles of proscription, because of religious opinions, and other reputed tenets of this new party, are in direct antagonism with the principles of that good old Whig party to which *we* are still attached, and which has been abandoned by Mr. Fillmore. It is not my object, in referring to these facts, to deny to the American party, since the secession of its abolition adherents, a fair claim to nationality; nor to deny the patriotism and virtue of Mr. Fillmore, nor his eminent qualification for the office of Chief Magistrate. But I do deduce from them the necessary conclusion, that, as Whigs, we owe no party allegiance to Messrs. Fillmore and Donelson, members and nominees of the American party. I deduce the conclusion that, as Whigs, we are not only at liberty, but that as patriots we are bound, by every obligation to our country and posterity, to throw aside, on the one hand, the feelings of hostility which Mr. Fillmore's desertion of our party would be calculated to engender, and, on the other hand, to forget, for the time, our former battles with the Democratic party, and to ask ourselves but one question—*which* of the two national organizations offers the *best guarantee* of success in crushing out of existence this new and monstrous sectional party, which threatens the life of your country? I do not propose to examine the relative claims of the two national parties or their nominees to our support. It is not, in my judgment, permissible, in the present crisis, to interpose our individual differences of opinion upon minor questions. It is sufficient for us to know, that the election of either national nominee would secure the Union; and the only question permitted by patriotism is, whether our support of the one or the other would more certainly prove successful?

But before I proceed to this inquiry, having shown that no political allegiance to Messrs. Fillmore and Donelson will interpose to prevent the fair exercise of our judgment on that side, I propose briefly to inquire whether there is anything to prevent our support of the democratic nominees, if after investigation we shall believe that our vote in their favor would more certainly secure the safety of our country. It cannot have escaped your observation that the political principles upon which the Whig and Democratic parties have battled for thirty years, with varied

success, have been for the most part settled by the fiat of the people, and that such as have not been so definitely disposed of have been either abandoned by the one or adopted by the other of those parties; so that now the representatives of the people in the halls of State and federal legislation are found indiscriminately advocating and opposing the same principles and measures. Not only is there no principle of political antagonism which should prevent Whigs and Democrats acting together for the benefit of their common country, but it is confidently submitted that upon the only vital question—that which now agitates and endangers the country—the two parties fully accord. The Whig and Democratic platforms upon the slavery question in 1852 were identical; and, there being no Whig nominees before the people, it *might* be suggested that consistency would rather require than oppose the support of the Democratic nominees by Whigs. The controlling inquiry to the patriot now recurs, *which of the two national organizations can by his vote be made most certainly successful?*

Every Maryland Whig will be bound by every tie of duty to vote as his judgment shall decide this question.

It may not be immaterial to observe that neither of the national nominees will obtain throughout this broad land any votes which will not be cast by national conservative citizens, and it is to be regretted that in this crisis that vote should be divided between *two national* candidates, whilst the entire anti-national vote will be concentrated upon the sectional nominee. To judge of the relative strength of the two national organizations it is unnecessary to trace minutely the origin of the American party. It is sufficient to bring to your recollection that it was originally composed, North and South, of the dissatisfied members of the two old parties, and that in the North its original members were chiefly those who opposed the conservative principle upon the slavery question avowed in the platforms of the two old parties. It must not escape your recollection that upon the nomination of Messrs. Fillmore and Donelson a large majority of the northern delegates seceded from the convention, declared their intention not to support those nominees, and subsequently united in the nomination of Mr. Fremont. This separation of the sectional from the national portion of the American party has occurred in every northern State in the confederacy. I deduce from these facts the nationality of the supporters of Messrs. Fillmore and Donelson, and I submit the inquiry for the honest decision of those to whom this paper is addressed, *what non-slaveholding State can this national branch of the American party, thus shorn of the larger portion of its original strength, promise its nominees?* Let the Whigs of Maryland ponder upon the view of this subject I have endeavored to present to their consideration, and no one of them will say that a single non-slaveholding State is certain for Fillmore and Donelson. True, *I think*, will develop the fact that Messrs. Fillmore and Donelson will be left without an electoral ticket in most of the free States, and it is, at any rate, the deliberate conviction of my judgment that they will not carry a single non-slaveholding State in the Union. If I am right, or even approximate the truth in the view I have taken, it will necessarily follow that any conservative vote for the American nominees North, will be equivalent to a vote for Mr. Fremont, as it will be a vote taken from Mr. Buchanan, his only real competitor.

It is clear, then, that to the South alone can the friends of Messrs. Fillmore and Donelson look for the probable chance of an electoral vote; and it is to the States of Maryland, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri that they profess to look with the greatest hope of success. It is manifest that, if this hope were realized, it might, indeed, prevent the election of Messrs. Buchanan and Breckinridge by the people, but it would only throw the election of President into the *present House of Representatives*, composed as that House now is. Does not the election of this same House, after a contest of two months, of a Black Republican Speaker, admonish us of the danger of such an experiment? Who can doubt that our political fabric would be shaken to its very foundations by this election of President being thrown upon the present House of Representatives? On the other hand, is it not certain

beyond the contingency of a doubt, that the vote of the States indicated for Mr. Buchanan, when added to that of the other southern States, would *secure* his election and the consequent safety of the Union? It is obvious that in this condition of the canvass the only serious contest is that between Fremont and Buchanan; that the only possible result that the most sanguine of the friends of Fillmore and Donelson can hope to attain is to carry the contest into the House of Representatives. Who can conceive anything more fatal to the peace of the country, more insane in political action, than such a course of conduct, leading to such a result? Suppose Mr. Fillmore to reach the House of Representatives with the votes of four or five States, (his utmost possible strength,) no man can seriously contend that he would be elected President, and assuredly few would be found bold enough to assert that, under such circumstances, he ought to be. The only effect, then, of giving the electoral vote of any portion of the South to Mr. Fillmore would be to transfer the contest between Mr. Buchanan and Fremont from the hustings to the House of Representatives; and the danger to our country, now sufficiently menacing, would, in that event, be appalling indeed. Who can contemplate the occurrence of such a contingency without feeling that he would be a traitor to his country if he failed to exert every possible effort to avert so awful a calamity?

I deem it, then, to be *my* duty, as well as that of all who believe with me that the election of Fremont would be the death-knell of the Union, to unite in the support of Messrs. Buchanan and Breckinridge; and I shall sustain their election to the best of my ability. Whilst I concede that there are certain principles hitherto professed by the party which nominated them that cannot receive our support, yet on the great issues of the constitutional rights of the South the platform on which they stand meets my cordial approval, and is in accordance with that of the party which I now address, and to whose kind favor I owe the honor of holding the seat I now occupy, and which I shall cease to hold after the 4th of March next by the fiat of that party to which Mr. Fillmore has attached himself, and which is now dominant in the legislature of my native State.

Let Maryland Whigs remember that the political battle now being fought is one of the deepest interest to them; that the maintenance of the constitutional rights of the South is the issue tendered to the American people by the Democratic party, and (as the Whigs have no candidate) by that party alone; that upon this issue the Republican party have staked the Union; and in such a battle, upon such an issue, they must be true to those who are doing battle in our behalf. It would be indeed sad if, in such a contest, the conservative strength of the country should not be united; it would be as strange as sad if, in such a contest, southern men should not be found battling shoulder to shoulder for the maintenance of their own constitutional rights.

In thus accomplishing what I believe to be a duty, I shall be inexpressibly gratified if I shall find myself sustained by the approval of my fellow-Whigs, who have refused to abandon either the party or the principles in support of which we have so long and so faithfully united, and which we shall remain at perfect liberty to re-organize as soon as our common efforts shall have succeeded in averting the perils that now threaten our beloved country.

THOMAS G. PRATT.

THE PRESERVATION OF THE UNION PARAMOUNT TO ALL PARTY OBLIGATIONS.

LETTER OF HON JAMES ALFRED PEARCE.

WASHINGTON, July 31, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: You ask what part I mean to take in the coming presidential election, and what I think should be done by old Whigs who have never been at-

tached to any other party and who do not desire to enter into new political connexions.

I am well aware of the embarrassments to such persons which attend a choice among the candidates for the presidency now before the country. In my own case this embarrassment is sensibly felt. My inclinations point one way; a sense of the duty arising from the present dangerous condition of domestic politics leads me another way.

My past relations, political and personal, with Mr. Fillmore, the confidence I have always reposed in his integrity and ability, the wisdom of his administration, and the conviction I entertain that he is a just national man and free from sectional prejudice, would induce me to prefer him to his competitors. Neither do I object to the sentiment of American nationality, properly limited and restrained. Indeed, I think that our present system has made American citizenship too cheap. But I did not approve the mysterious system under which the American party, of which he is now the representative, was organized; the oaths administered to members upon initiation, and the discipline of the order by which secrecy and obedience were secured. How far all this has been dispensed with I do not know. The original plan of their organization I could not but condemn, as I do the adoption of any principle which founds a rule of political exclusion upon a diversity of religious faith. However modified in these respects their plan may now be, it is not necessary for me to inquire. The northern wing of the party came into it, as I think, with purposes very different from those entertained by the rest. They adopted it as a cloak to schemes which all of us in Maryland condemn and detest. The necessary affiliations of that wing of the party were with the anti-slavery men; and accordingly we find the mask now thrown off by the most of them, and see the development of their plans in such a measure as the personal liberty bill of Massachusetts, which nullifies a law of Congress, violates the constitutional guarantee for the recovery of fugitive slaves, and creates the fiercest and most dangerous discord between the North and the South. Their members of Congress have for the most part been consolidated with the pernicious party mis-called Republicans, and many of the delegates to their presidential convention have deserted to that motley alliance, whose triumph would be the saddest calamity that ever befel our Union. The comparatively small portion of the American party which remained after this transfer to the anti-slavery men, and which has nominated Mr. Fillmore, is without power to elect him, even with the assistance of southern Whigs or national northern Whigs. These, however great their personal respect for and confidence in Mr. Fillmore, are under no party obligations now to give him their support, seeing that he has become a member and accepted the nomination of a party which repudiates the Whigs; and, while they would be willing in a contest with their old opponents to stand by all their political opinions to the last, they find ample reason in the present condition of parties, in the political anarchy which prevails, and in the fear of a sectional and anti-slavery triumph, leading to ulterior consequences of the worst sort, to consider whether it is not their duty to sacrifice all personal feeling and party prejudice for the sake of the Union, and to sustain the nominations of the Democrats as the only means of defeating the schemes of the mad agitators who rule the Republican party.

The contest, it seems to me, lies between Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Fremont. Mr. Fillmore's friends, indeed, claim a great reaction in his favor; but I have taken much pains to ascertain what his strength is in the free States, and so far I have not been able to satisfy myself that he can carry a single one of them. His wise and patriotic conduct while President, which recommended him so strongly to the Whigs of the South, is regarded by the majority at the North as a fatal objection to him. It is not moderation and conciliation they desire; they think, as one of their leaders said, that the time for compromises has passed. They want in the President an instrument to punish the South for what they fancy or pretend to be the aggressions

of the "slave power" upon the North. Mr. Fillmore is too national for this purpose, and he must, indeed, be credulous or sanguine in the extreme who supposes that the politicians who have misguided and inflamed the northern majority will abandon their designs, and renounce the spoils for which they hunger and thirst just at the moment when, for the first time, they are confident of the success of the one and the enjoyment of the other. Mr. Fillmore's strength lies in the Whig States of the South. If all the southern States should give him their votes, he would fail in the election without such assistance from the free States as it would be vain to look for. The choice, then, is between Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Fremont; and what Maryland Whig believing as I do can hesitate?

I am not so unjust as to charge all the northern men who join in the support of Mr. Fremont with being abolitionists. There are men among them whom I hold in much respect, while deploring the error of judgment into which they have fallen; but the most active and influential of their leaders are men who from perverted judgment or inflamed passion, or, what is worse, from deliberate calculation, have determined to build up a sectional party, reckless of its peril to the Union, once so justly valued, but now estimated far less at the North than at the South. Mr. Greeley is at this moment more potential with his party than any other of its members. He has the benefit of Mr. Giddings's co-operation. Governor Chase, Mr. Seward, and Mr. Wilson are active and influential leaders. Their presses teem with the fiercest abuse of southern men and southern institutions, with the grossest perversions of the truth, wickedly made to inflame the northern mind. Their orators denounce us equally, and some do not hesitate to say that they intend or desire not only to restore Kansas to the operation of the Missouri restriction, but to repeal the fugitive slave bill, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, to interdict the inter State slave trade so as to prevent the owner from migrating with his domestics from one slave State to another, to prevent forever hereafter the admission of any new State which tolerates domestic servitude, and to hem in and confine slavery within its present limits; thus continually increasing the political power of their section, until we shall be too weak to resist their future efforts to impair the value of our peculiar property, and, finally, to destroy it. We do not indeed find all these objects laid down in the platform of their party; and there are men associated with them whose designs by no means extend so far, and who, if they knew the probable consequences of their success, would recoil from the evil associations into which they have fallen. But, then, more moderate men are not the master spirits in this league of agitation, and will be powerless to stop the mischievous measures which I think certain to follow the success of the combination which they are now aiding. The tone of the press in their interest, the speeches of many members of Congress and of the amateur orators of the party, all clearly evince a determination to unite all the people of the free States, if possible, in fierce and relentless hostility to those of the South. It is the strife of sections in which they hope to succeed; and in what would their success result? Not in forming a more perfect union, not in establishing justice, or insuring domestic tranquility, all of which are among the declared objects of that constitution which Washington and the other fathers of the republic gave to us; but in the jealousies, discord, and hatred inseparable from a party "characterized by geographical discriminations." It was against this that the Father of his Country warned us in his Farewell Address—the last legacy of the spotless patriot to the country he had loved and served so well.

Some years ago, (in 1839,) when the danger of this sectional organization was less than it is now, Mr. Clay gave us his advice in the following words:

"Abolitionism should no longer be regarded as an imaginary danger. The abolitionists, let me suppose, succeed in their present aim of uniting the inhabitants of the free States as one man against the inhabitants of the slave States. Union on one side will beget union on the other, and this process of reciprocal consolidation will be attended with all the violent prejudices, embittered passions, and implacable animosities which ever degraded or deformed human nature. Virtual disunion of the Union will have taken place, whilst the forms of its existence remain." * * *

"One section will stand in menacing and hostile array against the other. The collision of opin-

ion will soon be followed by the clash of arms. I will not attempt to describe scenes which now happily be concealed from our view. Abolitionists themselves would shrink back in dismay and horror at the contemplation of isolated fields, conflagrated cities, murdered inhabitants, and the overthrow of the fairest fabric of human government that ever rose to animate the hopes of civilized man."

It will be said, perhaps, that this is mere declamation; that Mr. Clay's fervid spirit gave too warm a coloring to the picture; but we need only remark the passionate violence which characterizes men who have lately yielded to this sectional phrensy to satisfy ourselves what is the temper natural to such organizations. At the convention in Philadelphia, held by those who nominated Mr. Fremont, a conspicuous and distinguished gentleman, heretofore considered moderate and conservative, made a speech, in which, amidst cheers and cries of "good," he spoke as follows:

"They (meaning those who appointed the members of the convention) ask us to give them a nomination which, when put fairly before the people, will unite public sentiment, and, through the ballot-box, will restrain and repel this pro-slavery extension, and this aggression of the slaveocracy. What else are they doing? They tell you that they are willing to abide by the ballot-box, and willing to make that the last appeal. If we fail there, what then? We will draw our backs, sword in hand, and, so help me God, I am with them."

It is true that the author of these remarks has since publicly avowed that he alone is responsible for this rhapsody. But it cannot be doubted that the feeling which prompted him was the same which animated the preacher who proposed to supply the brethren in Kansas with bread, and powder too, and which has stimulated other preachers and their congregations to subscribe Sharpe's rifles as the most efficacious instrument in the adjustment of the controversies in that Territory, which all good men deplore, however they may differ as to the causes of the unhappy anarchy which prevails there. For myself, I acknowledge my duty to redress, so far as I can, all the real grievances complained of in that region; and I have supposed that the bill recently passed by the Senate was well calculated to remedy them, because it proposes to enact that no law shall be made or have force or effect in said Territory which shall require a test oath, or oath to support any act of Congress or other legislative act, as a qualification for any civil office or public trust, or for any employment or profession, or to serve as a juror or vote at an election, or which shall impose any tax upon or condition to the exercise of the right of suffrage by any qualified voter, or which shall restrain or prohibit the free discussion of any law or subject of legislation in the said Territory, or the free expression of opinion thereon by the people of said Territory; and secures, as far as law can secure, the operation of the public will in the formation of a State government. That this bill was sincerely meant to effect its avowed purpose I am quite confident; and I believe that there are conservative men at the North, who do not yield to prejudice or passion, who will credit this assertion. Unfortunately, they are not the majority. At all events, in the most of the free States the masses of the Republican party are led by men who do not mean to be satisfied with any legislation which is not to result in placing the government under their control; by men who say that the framers of the constitution "made a compromise that cannot be mentioned without shame;" who say of Mr. Fillmore, in allusion to his signing the fugitive-slave bill, "better far had he never been born—better for his memory, and for the name of his children, had he never been President;" who declare that bill to be "one of the immortal catalogues of national crimes," and that he who signed it thereby "sunk into the depths of infamy;" who pronounce the fugitive slave to be "one of the heroes of the age," and the master who demands him a "vile slave-hunter," whom all men should look upon with contempt, indignation, and abhorrence; men who do not regard the constitution, and the laws made in pursuance of it, as the supreme law of the land; who disregard the decisions of that high tribunal whose office it is to decide constitutional questions; who claim to set up their individual opinions against the official ones of the judicial authorities, and refer their obligations, not to the instrument which they have sworn to support,

which is at once the bond and the principle of our Union, but to some "higher law," whose foundations are to be found in their own fanatical imaginations. Some of the leaders go further still, and consider slavery as a wrong so transcendent, that it must not only be limited to its present bounds, but must be abolished altogether. We see the effects of this in the increasing restiveness of a part of our population, in the often-repeated escapes of our servants from the mildest form of servitude ever known, and in the ready acceptance of the recommendation not to hesitate at theft, robbery, and murder, if need be, to accomplish their flight. From this condition of things we can expect no relief if the anti-slavery party succeed in the election of Mr. Fremont. To defeat their nomination seems to me to be our first duty, and greatest interest, and, therefore, I am ready to adopt that candidate who appears most likely to accomplish this purpose. I add, as showing the extreme designs of the anti-slavery zealots, the following remarks, reported as having been made lately by Mr. Wendell Phillips. Speaking of the Republican party, he says :

"It is the first sectional party ever organized in this country. It does not know its own face. It calls itself national; but it is not national; it is sectional; it is the North arrayed against the South. Henry Wilson said to me, 'We must get every northern State in order to elect Fremont!' It was a distinct recognition of the fact that the Republican party is a party of the North pledged against the South. Theodore Parker wanted to know once where disunion would begin? I will tell him—just where that party divides; that is, a northern party against the southern. I do not call it an anti-slavery party; it has not risen to that yet. Its first distinct recognition was Banks's election."

I have no idea that this is to be considered as showing the general purpose of the Republican party, but I am well satisfied that such opinions are growing in the North, under the constant teachings of such apostles as Mr. Phillips, and this speech shows the tendency of present events.

I have been politically opposed to the Democratic party for so many years that I cannot without reluctance contemplate the necessity of supporting their nominee. Yet it must be admitted that he is a man of abilities and large public experience; that he has been just to the South, though not assuming to be a northern man with southern principles; that his inclinations are generally conservative; that he numbers among his prominent supporters many gentlemen of talents and patriotic character, entitled not only to the confidence of their party, but to influence with the country at large; and that many of the old issues between the Whigs and the Democrats are obsolete. Two objections to him are much relied on by his opponents in the South. It has been alleged that he countenanced and promulgated the charge of bargain and corruption against Mr. Clay in the election by the House of Representatives in 1825. I should denounce him for this as readily and as severely as any one if I thought this allegation just. But I remember that this charge against Mr. Clay was made without any direct testimony until 1827, when the Carter Beverly letter led to Mr. Buchanan's being named as a witness; and that he then promptly denied the statement which he was relied on to prove, and, at the risk of losing Gen. Jackson's favor and that of his party, exonerated Mr. Clay. From the letter which he then published I extract the following passage :

"I owe it to my own character to make another observation. Had I ever known or even suspected that Gen. Jackson believed I had been sent to him by Mr. Clay or his friends, I should have immediately corrected his erroneous impression, and thus prevented the necessity for this most unpleasant explanation. When the editor of the United States Telegraph, on the 12th of October last, asked me by letter for information on this subject, I promptly informed him by the returning mail, on the 16th of that month, that I had no authority from Mr. Clay or his friends to propose any terms to General Jackson in relation to their votes, nor did I ever make any such propositions; and that I trusted I would be as incapable of becoming a messenger upon such an occasion as it was known General Jackson would be to receive such a message. I have deemed it necessary to make this statement in order to remove any misconception which may have been occasioned by the publication in the Telegraph of my letter to the editor, dated the 11th ultimo."

Again, in 1828, in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives, Mr. Buchanan declared that he had no knowledge of the bargain and corruption charged on Mr. Clay. These disavowals may be considered as merely cold justice to the

great and incorruptible Whig leader, but surely they contradict most flatly the charge of being his "traducer and defamer." If further proof were needed, it may be found in the following remarks recently made in Kentucky by Mr. James B. Clay, his son :

"Mr. Clay then proceeded to urge upon his old Whig friends, the companions and constituents of his father, to rally round that banner which he had *spent his life in upholding*—the banner of the Union. He was ready to follow the Whig standard as the Douglas followed the heart of Bruce—as long as it waved. But that flag was no longer to be seen on the battle-field. It might yet be unfurled. After death, there was the resurrection. But at present there was no Whig organization, and the only party of the Union was that of which Buchanan and Breckinridge were the candidates.

"Mr. Clay referred to the attempt to implicate Mr. Buchanan in the charge of bargain and corruption. On that subject he proposed to take the testimony of his own father, and he read from Mr. Clay's letter to show that Mr. Buchanan had conducted himself in that affair as a man of truth and honor. He should believe what his father said before others. Besides the evidence he had read, there was other testimony bearing on the same point. In feeling and eloquent terms he referred to the heavy weight of that charge against his father, and how gallantly and bravely he had borne it. Thank God, it died before his father! and now he was proud to say that there lived not the man who would whisper it. But Mr. Buchanan was free from all connexion with the matter.

"Mr. Clay concluded with an eloquent appeal to his fellow-citizens, especially old-line Whigs, to give their cordial support to the Union ticket—to Buchanan and Breckinridge."

The next great objection is, that Mr. Buchanan would be unsafe in his management of our foreign affairs. I readily admit that I do not like the Ostend paper, and I do not approve certain resolutions adopted by the Cincinnati Convention, notwithstanding the unanimous opposition of the Virginia and Maryland delegates, and, I believe, of others; and if he should adopt the aggressive policy supposed to be prescribed by that paper and the resolutions, I should be as ready and as earnest in my opposition to him as any one. But he is a man of known caution, which, with his intelligent comprehension of the true interests of the United States, and the responsibility of the presidential office, which he could not but recognise, would forbid his urging the country upon a course of aggression inconsistent with the spirit of our government, faithless to treaties, violative of the rights of other nations, and destructive of our own peace, honor, and concord. I know that many of the leading men of his own party are sound and reliable in this respect; and I believe that their conservative influence would harmonize with his own disposition. I am the more assured of this, because I observe that in his letter of acceptance, there is no recognition of the resolutions, (which were not considered by the convention as forming a part of the platform;) but, on the contrary, a prudent and conservative tone, which met with the approbation of even the judicious and experienced editors of the *National Intelligencer*, themselves, *par excellence*, the foes of all fillibustering. In an editorial article, noticing Mr. Buchanan's letter of acceptance, they said :

"We may say however, that Mr. Buchanan's official letter of acceptance, while not expressly repudiating the extreme and exceptionable doctrines tisted into the Democratic confessions of faith by the Cincinnati Convention, does yet, by its spirit and tone, incline us to hope that he means, if elected, so to construe those doctrines as to disarm them of their mischievous significance and evil tendency. Indeed, we can give no other meaning than this to Mr. Buchanan's declaration, when he says that he accepts the 'resolutions constituting the platform of principles erected by the convention' in the same spirit as that which prompts his acceptance of the nomination tendered to him by his party—namely, a desire so to discharge the duties of the high office to which he aspires as to lay domestic strife, preserve peace and friendship with foreign nations, and promote the best interests of the republic."

At present the prospect is, that the conservative Whig vote will be so divided as to defeat a popular election, and throw the decision upon the House of Representatives—at all times an event to be deprecated, but at this period peculiarly pernicious and dangerous, and threatening the rudest shock to our system. What the result will be, I will not venture to predict, but I will say, that I do not see the least probability of Mr. Fillmore's election by the House of Representatives. I think, therefore, it would be the part of wisdom and patriotism in the Whigs, (by which I mean those who have affiliated with no other party,) to throw their votes

for Mr. Buchanan, as the strongest of the candidates opposed to the northern sectional party. This they may do without renouncing their old political faith, without stain of honor or suspicion of apostacy. The motive being the integrity of the Union—the defeat of a party which is founded on geographical discriminations, and bound together by dangerous sectional schemes—the act will be vindicated by disinterested patriotism.

For my part, I shall not abjure my political creed, and, having in view but the one object which I have stated, I shall hold myself ready to take any other course which may be necessary to effect that object. Should the hopes of Mr. Fillmore's friends be realized; should it appear that he is more likely to carry the great body of the patriotic, but quiet people, who generally come to the rescue in times of public peril; that he is, in short, the best able to subdue this storm of sectional passion and prejudice, I shall rejoice to see him again filling the chair of State. But I will not affect an unalloyed gratification; for I cannot forget that he is the candidate of a party which has proscribed Whigs who were not members of "the order"—of a party which boasted that it had risen on the ruins of the Whig and Democratic parties, and which has pronounced both of them corrupt.

Whatever the result, I shall be content if the dangerous excitement which threatens our peace and union can be calmed down, so that the extreme opinions, which have their roots in prejudice and passion, may wither away. Then a liberal forbearance and kindly toleration of different sentiments may resume their influence. If this cannot be done—if the South and the North are to regard one another as enemies—then, sooner or later, our "house, divided against itself," must fall. Then we shall have to say with Pæantheus—

*Venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus
Dardaniæ.*

But ours will be a sadder fate than that of Priam's empire; for it was not the Dardanian people by whom the inevitable doom of Troy was fixed. A foreign foe beat down her lofty walls, and destroyed the high renown of Teucer's race; but we shall fall by our own suicidal hands; we will kindle the flames which shall destroy the edifice of our constitutional Union; ourselves will break the bonds of harmonious interest and fraternal concord which have held us together as one people. May Heaven inspire us with wisdom to avert so sad a catastrophe!

Very truly, my dear sir, your friend,

JAS. ALFRED PEARCE.

Hon. J. R. FRANKLIN,
Snow Hill, Maryland.

ONE MORE BLOW FOR THE UNION—A WORD FOR CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY—AN ENTIRE EXPLOSION OF THE BARGAIN AND INTRIGUE SLANDER.

SPEECH OF JAMES B. CLAY.

Delivered at the Union Meeting in Mason County, Kentucky, July 23, 1856.

Mr. CLAY being called for, was introduced to the assemblage as an old-line Whig, the son of Henry Clay. He said:

Ladies and gentlemen, fellow-citizens of Mason county: I present myself before you on this occasion under circumstances peculiar and extraordinary. A candidate for no office in the gift of the people, in bad health, I have left my home and my occupation as an humble, plain farmer, at the request of those in whose names I recognise old Whigs and Democrats, to come here to-day to cast in my mite and to strike one blow for the Union. In all this vast assemblage there are perhaps not more than half a dozen persons who have ever seen me before, and not that number with whom I have the least personal acquaintance. You have all of you, however,

heard my name; and all of you have heard the vilest charges made against me, designed and calculated to destroy whatever little influence I might happen to possess as an individual, and to take from me the confidence and respect of my fellow men. I have been denounced as false to the memory of my father, and as a renegade to his principles. Fellow-citizens, I was born within a stone's throw of the capitol, in the very house in which my father died. Educated under his care, the same shades of Ashland in which he so much delighted, and under which he had some of his noblest consultations, gave shelter to me in my youthful days. I thank God that, by my own exertions, I have been able to preserve that spot in his family. In my more mature manhood I was the companion, the partner, the trusted friend of my father. Thus educated and thus associated, to be a Whig became a part of my nature. I am now a Whig, and I expect to die a Whig, as I have lived.

Fellow-citizens you have heard the charges and calumnies against me. I am now before you, face to face, and you can judge for yourselves whether I have the countenance of a false and insincere man. There is not one drop of false blood coursing through my veins. Numbers of you here present are old enough to remember the River Raisin, and that bloody day, when all Kentucky was clothed in mourning. One of my aunts, on that disastrous occasion, poured out his life's blood for his country. All of you have heard of Burns Vista, and how my noble brother, covered with a hundred wounds, upon his back, surrounded by enemies, so long as his feeble arm could raise his sword, battled for the honor and glory of the Union and of his native Kentucky. None of you can have forgotten that funeral cortege, which, leaving Washington city, passing through half the Union, arrived at Ashland, amid the nation's tears and grief—a patriot was brought home to be laid under the green sod of the land which he so honored him, and upon which he had reflected so much honor. Fellow-citizens, this is my race—these were my people—and with their memories always present and clustering around me, I appeal to you to know whether it is possible for me to be false or insincere.

Early in last year, fellow-citizens, it was apparent to all men that the Whig party, as an organization, was gone. The seeds of its fall were sown in 1840, when the plume of a military chieftain was permitted to dazzle men's eyes. But in 1848, when adopting the doctrine that availability and success were rather to be looked to than right, in lieu of that noble idea that it was better to be right than to be President, the Convention of Philadelphia set the seal upon the fate of the party. Refusing to reassert a platform of Whig principles, it selected General Taylor as its candidate for the Presidency upon the single idea of his availability. The hand-writing was as plainly upon the wall as at Belshazzar's feast. The Whig party broken up, disorganized, and apparently hopelessly so; old-time Whigs began to ask themselves the question which once the immortal Sage of Marshfield propounded himself, "Where am I to go?" Rumors came to us of a new party which was said already to have attained vast strength, even while many doubted its very existence. Secret and mysterious, it was reputed, like Minerva from the brain of Jove, to have sprung forth fully armed. Its purposes were said to be the introduction of a purer and better state of things in politics, and the good only of the country.

Seeing many of my old Whig associates attaching themselves to it, I was told it was but Whiggery in disguise, and that it only differed from the old Whig party in seeking a modification of the naturalization laws. I had myself always thought that some modification ought to be made of those laws, and that greater safeguards ought to be placed around the elective franchise. I was told that its secrecy, which was abhorrent to my nature, was only to continue until the party got fairly under way, when everything would be made open and public. Deceived by men in whom I had very confidence, I thought it to be my duty to join this new party. I presented myself for admission into the order. Do not be deceived—I did not get in. The first questions that were propounded to me astonished and startled me. They were in substance these; I do not pretend to quote the very words: Where was I born? The place of my residence? Was I twenty-nine years of age? Was I a Roman Catholic? Were my parents Protestants? Was my wife a Roman Catholic? Was I willing to oppose federal offices of honor, trust, or profit in the gift of the people, all foreigners and Roman Catholics?

Fellow-citizens, I am not telling you untruths. I declare to you upon my honor, and in the presence of God, that I believe these to be substantially the questions which were proposed to me; and I appeal to those members of the so-called American party, who may be present, to answer whether I have not stated truly the obligations under which they placed themselves in the early part of 1855, whatever may now be the doctrines of their party, which I do not pretend to know. I do not expect them to answer me, but I do expect them, when they go to their own homes, to make answer to their own consciences whether I have not spoken the truth. Shocked and startled, I requested the presiding officer to read again the obligation against foreigners and Catholics. It was done, and an attempt made to explain away the force of the clear meaning of the words of the obligation. I observed that I had been mistaken and deceived as to the purposes of the party, or my shadow would never have darkened their door. I took my hat and wished them good morning.

Fellow-citizens, there was once in the middle ages a political society in Europe, and especially in Germany, called the *Illuminati*; one of its practices was that when an individual became partially or fully initiated, and afterward disclosed any of its secrets, two alteratives were offered to the wretched victim—a cord and a dagger were secretly placed by his bedside, and he might either hang himself or put himself to death with the dagger; if he chose neither of the delightful alternatives, his nearest relation, even his own brother, if a member of the society, was bound to take his life. Fellow-citizens, all secret political societies are alike. In

this age, since letters and the press are come about, the cord and the dagger are no longer used; a venal press affords a far more potent weapon, and more vindictive punishment. By falsehood, by calumny, by libel and detraction, not only may the heart of the victim himself be torn in pieces, but the feelings of his wife, his mother, his children, of his whole family, are reached and lacerated for vengeance' sake. Fellow-citizens, such persecution I myself have undergone, and you know it.

I could not reconcile it to my conscience to become a Know-nothing, because I believed the principles of the party to be antagonistic to civil and religious liberty, and dangerous to our republican institutions. Throwing out a banner inscribed "Americans only shall rule America," they appeared to me like the veiled Prophet of Khorassan, who, concealing his horrible visage behind a silver veil, erected shrines--

"Where faith may mutter o'er her mystic spells,
Written in blood, and Bigotry may swell
The sail he spreads for Heaven with blasts from Hell."

I could not become a Know-nothing. "Where shall I go?" Fellow-citizens, I turned my thoughts back to the old party of my father. I knew its principles to be true; some of its practices had been bad; but I believed its principles, once true, they must always be so, for truth cannot die. They told me that the party was dead, but I believed it was only after death that the resurrection could come. In concert with some of my Whig brethren, we determined to strive after its resurrection. There was no meeting calling itself Whig in all my region of country which I did not attend. There was no convention at which I was not present. Every effort to resurrect the old party which could be made was made. The result was the Convention at Louisville on the 3d of July. It was then resolved to be inexpedient to present Whig candidates for the highest offices for the suffrages of the people; and it was determined that, having asserted our old principles, it was proper that each individual should be left free to make his own choice according to his own conscience and his own principles, for the good of his country.

Fellow-citizens, I have followed the Whig standard so long as it fluttered in the breeze. I would have followed it always, and I always expect to maintain Whig principles. Like an eloquent Old-line Whig of Missouri, now acting with the Democrats, "I have surveyed the whole battle-field, but I find no Whig banner under which to fight." Like him, I am forced to the conviction that the old Whig flag lies furled upon the tomb of my father.

Fellow-citizens, the country is in danger. In 1820 our wisest and best statesmen told us there was great danger from the question of slavery. For the purpose of putting it at rest the so-called Missouri Compromise was made, but it did not settle the question. Again, in 1849-50, it raised its horrid front. Fortunately for the country, at that time there were then at Washington men of a giant race, who could see and appreciate the danger, and warn the country of it. Do you not recollect how the black cloud sat like a leaden pall upon the hearts of men--how the bravest trembled for the Union? Do you not remember with what anxiety all eyes were turned to Washington--with what trembling eagerness you listened for every scrap of news? At the last tidings came that the Compromise Measures of 1850 had been passed, although in detail. Have you forgotten the rejoicings throughout the whole land? How the bells rung, and the glad shouts went up to Heaven in gratitude that their country was safe? How vain and how futile were the hopes of the best and wisest of men. Scarcely are some of the principal actors in those noble scenes cold in their graves when again the black cloud upon us. The country is in danger. The Black Republicans of the North, determined to carry out their designs against the South at all hazards, and at every risk, have nominated purely sectional candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency. North against South--union or dissolution--this is the question now before you, and you cannot avoid it. It is not I alone who tells you so. Americans, as you choose to call yourselves old-line Whigs, it is Mr. Fillmore also who tells you so. Hear what he says in his Albany speech, recently delivered--a speech so patriotic and honorable to him:

"Sir, you have been pleased to say that I have the union of these States at heart. This, sir, is most true, for if there be one object dearer to me than any other, it is the unity, prosperity and glory of this great Republic; and I confess frankly, sir, that I fear it is in danger. I say nothing of any particular section, much less of the several candidates before the people. I presume they are all honorable men. But, sir, what do we see? An exasperated feeling between the North and South, on the most exciting of all topics, resulting in bloodshed and organized military array.

"But this is not all, sir. We see a political party presenting candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, selected for the first time from the free States alone, with the avowed purpose of electing those candidates by the suffrages of one part of the Union only to rule over the whole of the United States. Can it be possible that those who are engaged in such a measure could have seriously reflected upon the consequences which must inevitably follow in case of success? [Cheers.] Can they have the madness or folly to believe that our Southern brethren would submit to be governed by such a Chief Magistrate? [Cheers.] Would he be required to follow the rule prescribed by those who elected him in making his appointments? If a man living south of Mason and Dixon's line be not worthy to be President or Vice President, would it be proper to select one from the same quarter as one of his Cabinet Council, or to represent the nation in a foreign country? or, indeed, to collect the revenue or administer

the laws of the United States? If not, what new rule is the President to adopt in selecting men for office?

"These are serious, but practical questions, and in order to appreciate them fully, it is only necessary to turn the tables upon ourselves. Suppose that the South, having a majority of the electoral votes, should declare that they would only have slaveholders for President and Vice President, and should elect such by their exclusive suffrages to rule over us as the North; do you think we would submit to it? No, not for a moment. [Applause.] And do you believe that your southern brethren are less sensitive on this subject than you are, or less jealous of their rights? [Tremendous cheering.] If you do, let me tell you that you are mistaken. And, therefore, you must see that if this sectional party succeeds, it leads inevitably to the destruction of this beautiful fabric reared by our forefathers, cemented by their blood, and bequeathed to us as a priceless inheritance.

"I tell you, my friends, that I speak warmly on this subject, for I feel that we are in danger. I am determined to make a clean breast of it. I will wash my hands of the consequences, whatever they may be; and I tell you that we are treading upon the brink of a volcano that is liable at any moment to burst forth and overwhelm the nation. I might by soft words hold out delusive hopes, and thereby win votes, but I never can consent to be one thing to the North and another to the South. I should desecrate myself if I could be guilty of such evasion."

I believe every word that Mr. Fillmore says. *As surely as the sun shines the country is in danger.* I have a high respect for Mr. Fillmore, and if he stood precisely where he did in 1850, I should prefer him to any man for the presidency. Even as it is, personally I prefer him to either of the other candidates. But, fellow-citizens, there is no living man whom I love so well as I do that great union of States—my country—for which my father gave his life. Mr. Fillmore has given us good advice—advice which accords with my own judgment; he tells us that the Union is in imminent danger; he leads us to believe that the probabilities are that if Mr. Fremont is elected, the Union will be dissolved, and no into two parts, but shivered into fragments! Old-line Whigs, what is our duty? It lies with us to save the Union. The candidates of the Black Republican party must be defeated, else, as Mr. Fillmore tells us—as we have been told by the greatest statesmen since 1823—the Union is in dire and imminent peril. For me I am for the preservation of the Union. Destroy all the parties now in existence, but for God's sake—for the sake of human liberty—save the Union. I have no faith in the sincerity of that man who, with his mouth full of protestations of love for his country, and for the memory of my dead father, cannot lay his personal prejudices and predilections upon the altar a willing sacrifice for the salvation of his country.

How are we to defeat Fremont? We cannot elect both his opponents. Neither of them, neither Mr. Fillmore nor Mr. Buchanan, is presented for the suffrage of the Old-line Whigs upon a pure Whig platform. There are principles avowed and maintained by both the parties of which they are representatives, which we do not approve. It is necessary for us to choose between them, whichever is most likely to defeat the Black Republican candidate; and in making the choice it is not necessary for us to endorse or to give in our adhesion to the principles which either represent. I believe that the Union would be safe with either, and it is our duty to save the Union, if we can. The question for us is resolved into a mere question of chances, which is the most likely to succeed according to our best light, Mr. Fillmore or Mr. Buchanan?

Fellow-citizens, I have made my choice. Looking over the whole country, not confining my view to my own State, or to my own locality—not suffering myself to be influenced by partisan journals or partisan orators—I am deliberately convinced that Mr. Fillmore has not the least chance of success, and that if it be at all possible to defeat Fremont, the Democratic party, with their candidates Buchanan and Breckinridge, with the aid of the Union-loving Old-line Whigs, is the only party which has the least chance to do so. Show me a State certain or nearly certain for Fillmore, and I will show you two for Buchanan. I hold in my hand authentic results of the last elections, from which alone we can form reliable conclusions. From these it appears that while twelve of the southern States are almost certain for Buchanan, Mr. Fillmore has, at the best, but doubtful chances for the remaining three. Thus, Mr. Buchanan presents himself with almost the whole South in solid phalanx. At the North his count of States is to the full as good, and in my opinion much better than Mr. Fillmore's; besides, we Whigs know well, and to our cost, the wonderful tenacity of the Democratic party, how it has held together and had success when we most confidently expected its defeat.

I know, fellow-Whigs, how difficult it is for you to get rid of old prejudices, either of attraction or of repulsion. I have not forgotten, however, that upon a question of mere availability, the Whigs of Kentucky were able, through their delegates at Philadelphia, in 1848, to give their idol—the man whom they loved, and who loved them, and who has done so much for the honor of Kentucky, that whenever Kentucky's name was mentioned, at home or abroad, his name at once arose before the mind's eye, and whenever his name was mentioned Kentucky appeared. Fellow-Whigs, do you love Mr. Fillmore so much better than you did Henry Clay, that you cannot make the same sacrifice of your predilections for the one that you did for the other upon much less occasion?

But, fellow-citizens, I am often asked how it is possible that I, my father's son, can reconcile it to myself to vote for Mr. Buchanan—who, they say, had so seriously injured and wronged my father by originating, or, if not originating, by being complicated with and mixed up in some way or other with that vile old charge of bargain and intrigue betwixt him and Mr. Adams. In nine cases out of ten the persons who in my presence refer to that affair know abso-

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lately nothing about it; and when I refer them to dices, and love to be prejudiced too well, to allow tion I have fully and carefully studied the whole with the express purpose of ascertaining the truth of channon, and the result of my research has been, th him of having had any part in the original slander when he was summoned before the public as a wit upon the testimony of the very person whom he had to have wronged and slandered, and however little partisan editors and partisan orators may esteem the evidence of any of them himself, it is abundantly sufficient for me, his son. The charge of bargain and intrigue was first made by Mr. Kremer, in an anonymous letter, subsequently reiterated by Carter Beverly, in his celebrated Fayetteville letter, and finally asserted by General Jackson, who assumed the responsibility of it, and to prove its truth summoned Mr. Buchanan before the public as his only witness. Mr. Buchanan promptly responded to the call for his testimony. Did he sustain Mr. Kremer, Carter Beverly, and General Jackson, the last of whom had summoned him? On the contrary, his evidence was clear and distinct, and fully exculpated Mr. Clay from the charges made against him. So Mr. Clay regarded it himself, and he, the person accused, testified, publicly and privately, that he considered Mr. Buchanan had done him no wrong. I read to you, from *Colton's Private Correspondence* of my father, his private letter to his old friend, Judge Brooke, of Virginia—the friend of his life-time—a letter never intended for publication, dated August, 1827, in which, referring to Mr. Buchanan's Lancaster letter, he says: "I could not desire a stronger statement." Again, in public, upon the occasion of a dinner given him in Washington on his retirement from the office of Secretary of State, he said:

"That citizen (General Jackson) has done me great injustice. It was inflicted, as I must ever believe, for the double purpose of gratifying private resentment and promoting personal ambition. When, during the late canvass, he came forward in the public prints, under his proper name, with his charge against me, and summoned before the public tribunal his friend and only witness (Mr. Buchanan) to establish it, the anxious attention of the whole American people was directed to the testimony which that witness might render. He promptly obeyed the call, and testified to what he knew. He *could* say nothing, and he *said nothing* which cast the slightest shade upon my honor or integrity. What he *did* say was the reverse of any implication of me."

Thus, fellow-citizens, we have the private and public opinion of my father respecting the testimony of Mr. Buchanan upon the charge of bargain and intrigue. I know that my father would not have expressed such opinions unless he believed them to be true. He was satisfied with Mr. Buchanan, and so expressed himself privately and publicly; that is enough for me, and so far as I am concerned, it is of the smallest possible consequence what may be the opinion of those partisans who are now endeavoring to strike down their political opponent with weapons dragged from the tomb.

Fellow-citizens, you are aware you cannot vote for Fillmore alone. You must know that, in voting for the electoral ticket of Mr. Fillmore, you also vote for Andrew Jackson Donelson; as, in voting for that of Mr. Buchanan, you vote for John C. Breckinridge. Mr. Fillmore himself became President by one of those dispensations of Providence which may likewise cause Mr. Donelson to fill the chair, if their ticket were successful. Between Donelson and Breckinridge I could not hesitate for a single instant. I know Major Breckinridge well; he is not only my fellow-Kentuckian, but my fellow-townsmen, also. We have differed in politics, but I have never heard but one opinion expressed of him—that he is an honorable, high-toned Kentucky gentleman. It affords me very great pleasure to relate to you an incident which occurred in my presence, and which afforded as much gratification to my father as it was honorable and creditable to Major Breckinridge. Very soon after his first election to Congress, Major Breckinridge called upon my father, and I was present at the interview. "Mr. Cay," said "Major Breckinridge, (of course I can give only the substance,) "I have been elected from your old district, and am about to go, quite a young man, to Washington city. We have always differed, sir, in politics, but I have ever entertained the highest respect for you. I have no doubt but I shall often have occasion for good advice, and if you will allow me, sir, to do so, it will afford me great satisfaction to call freely upon you at Washington, and to be enabled to avail myself of your wisdom and great experience."

Between such a man as this and Andrew Jackson Donelson I, at least, fellow-citizens, would have no difficulty in making a choice.

Fellow-citizens, I have already occupied more of your time than I had any right to expect would be given so attentively to every word that I have addressed to you. I thank you from the bottom of my heart. I trust that you will allow me, on taking my leave of you, to indulge the hope that my effort to direct your attention to the imminent danger which threatens our glorious Union may not be wholly without avail, and that you will, at any rate, fellow-citizens, believe me, in what I have said to you, to have been perfectly and entirely sincere.